37. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

38. David Lodge quotes Northrop Frye who says that 'Style...is the chief literary term applied to works of prose generally classified as non-literary" and goes on to add that "a scrutiny of examination papers in most of the English schools of our universities would show that questions on style are invariably set on such authors as Bacon, Browne, Swift, Addison, Hazlitt and De Quincey, Carlyle etc. "See *Language of Fiction*, page 51.

39. "Rhetorical Choice and Stylistic Option", in *Literary Style: A Symposium* edited by Seymour Chatman, Oxford University Press, New York, 1971, paperback, pp. 85-86.

40. Introduction, *Rhetorical Analyses of Literary Works*, edited by Edward P.J. Corbett, Oxford University Press, New York, 1969, paperback, p. xxvii.

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Survey

LANGUAGE, DIALECT, AND LOCAL IDENTITY IN NORTHERN PAKISTAN

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1. INTRODUCTORY

Given the very special circumstances in which Pakistan came into existence and its often troubled subsequent history, it is hardly surprising that so much debate within the country should have concentrated upon attempts to define the Pakistani identity at the national level. As a natural consequence of this, the academic study of Pakistan from abroad has tended to be directed mainly towards this level also, or towards the consideration of the country's identity as a unit of the international system.

The national identity must, indeed, serve as a starting point, since the frontiers of the state are more or less co-terminous with a great many social boundaries, e.g. those implied by the concept of citizenship. But the time has surely come for the bias of top-heavy academic concentration upon it to be corrected. A country as large and complex as Pakistan is, after all, hardly analogous to one of those human societies so simple that—if we are to believe the constructs of their ethnographers—it is possible for group identity within them to be formulated in straightforwardly unitary terms. The illusion of united self-containment may perhaps briefly be created in a modern state in times of acute national crisis, but it will hardly serve as a realistic basis for analysis in normal circumstances.

Least of all will it serve in South Asia, with its extraordinarily intricate overlapping and intertwining of social groups, whether these are defined in terms of—for example—religion, language, area of origin, economic status, or political alliance. The difficulty is, of course, to distinguish patterns of significance in all this complexity. There are Pakistanis who will define their own sub-national group identity in terms of any of the criteria mentioned, so that all need ultimately to be taken into account if the interplay between national and lower levels of group identity is properly to be understood. This understanding is made yet more difficult by the further com-

plexities introduced into the inter-relationships and self-definitions of such groups by the changes consequent upon more or less rapid change.

Given these circumstances, the most one can hope to achieve as a foreign student of Pakistan, with limited opportunities to work inside the country, is to concentrate one's attention upon certain limited types of social groupings only. The process of selection is inevitably distorting, but one can at least aim to provide data for those working in different areas or specializations, and to suggest possible models on the basis of personal experience for others to adapt in the light of theirs.

My professional specialization is as a teacher and student of languages and literatures, and so the groups which interest me are those defined by linguistic markers. It would appear at first sight that these must be one of the easiest kinds of groups to distinguish. The text-books certainly provide a neat picture of Pakistan as a country with a religiously determined national identity, divided into four main units with provincial identities largely determined linguistically. In other words, the Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis, and Pathans each have their own province, in each of which the provincial languages Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi, and Pashto are accorded their own role in greater or less subordination to the national language, Urdu.

But, as those who have had the opportunity of travelling widely in Pakistan will be aware, the tidy schemes of the text-books do only very imperfect justice to the complex realities of the situation on the ground. The Urdu-speaking *muhājirīn* from India (in so far as they have remained unassimilated to a provincial identity) are only the most striking of the many instances of groups which are not tidily accommodated by the four-fold provincial scheme. This is not to say that the factor of provincial identity is one which can be disregarded, since these identities are coming to be formulated with increasing clarity: but the match between language and province is certainly less perfect than that between religion and nation.

The match between language and province is also less perfect in much of Pakistan than it is in much of India, where the very substantial redrawing of the old provincial boundaries since 1947 has reflected a willingness (even if a diminishing one) on the part of the government of one of the world's most diverse societies to grant recognition to the political aspirations of coherently organized expressions of local identity, typically defined chiefly by the label of language. In Pakistan, on the other hand, the provincial boundaries established under the *rāj* have re-ermerged from their rather brief period of extinction under the One Unit system in their old form, virtually unaltered save by the incorporation of the former princely states into the contiguous provinces.

This contrast between substantial (if incomplete) internal re-organization and the restoration of the imperial *status quo* is, I think, a significant pointer to one of the most marked differences between India and Pakistan, the much slower emergence of consciously formulated local identities in the latter country. There are many factors which could be cited to account for this, mostly connected in one way or other to that relationship with India which has been so important a constraining factor in the evolution of Pakistan. Among those which might be referred to are: the smaller size of Pakistan, suggesting that centrifugal emphasis on local identities would any way be less immediately significant than in India; the comparatively lower state of economic and educational development, typical of a border area, in which Pakistan began its existence; the lengthy dominance in political debate of the relationship between West and East Pakistan over the internal organization of the former; and the continuing restraints on political expression, particularly at the local level, which have been entailed by the predominance of authoritarian and centralizing *regimes* throughout the greater part of the country's history.

Considerable as they are, however, these contraints have of course acted as delaying factors rather than as absolute obstacles to the emergence of expressions of local identity in Pakistan. The case of Baluchistan, is the most obvious and extreme example, while that of Sind—as is quite well known—is hardly less pertinent. The purpose of the present paper is to show that such phenomena are by no means confined to the southern provinces. Its principal purpose is to describe some of the expressions of local identity, all couched primarily in

terms of the language or dialect of a particular group, which are emerging in various cities and towns of the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). The description is largely the product of personal observations made while engaged in purely linguistic field-work during several visits to Pakistan particularly during my most recent trip in the early part of 1979.[1]

2. LANGUAGE TYPES IN THE PUNJABI AREA

Since the expressions of local identity to be considered rely largely on linguistic definitions, some description of the patterns of language and dialect in the region and of the types of languages which have prevailed there historically is clearly called for as a necessary preliminary.[2] This is all the more important in that questions of classification and the interpretation of historical evidence are quite basic to current formulations of identity.

Three different types of language have prevailed historically in the area. These may be defined as formal standard languages, used primarily for writing; as informal dialects, used primarily for oral purposes; and as local literary languages, used for writing, but quite closely based on the informal dialects. As would be expected, the first category is by far the easiest to define. In simple terms it may be said that Sanskrit was for long the unchallenged formal standard language of the area. After the Muslim invasion of the 11th century its place was largely taken over by Persian, which maintained its dominance until the British annexation of the Sikh kingdom in the 1840's. Since that time, English and Urdu have occupied the position of formal standards, each in their own fairly well-defined contexts.

A straightforward classification of this kind is hardly to be applied to the second category, that of informal spoken dialects. These may be regarded as falling into large local groups within a maximally defined Punjabi language area that is bounded by Sindhi to the South, by the Iranian Baluchi and Pashto to the West, by the Dardic languages of the mountains to the North, and by the Hindi area across the Indian border to the East. The limits of this area, which covers much of the

most populous part of Pakistan, are roughly marked by the cities of Lahore, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Peshawar. In so large an area, dialectical diversity is inevitably considerable, particularly in view of the long dominance of alien or only indirectly related formal standard languages.

The classification of spoken varieties within this Punjabi language area ought ideally to await a properly organized and thoroughly conducted linguistic survey of Pakistan. In the simplest terms, though, at least three major groups of spoken dialects must be distinguished.

These are: (i) the central Punjabi group of the eastern areas of Pakistan Punjab (and extending over the Indian border), with their centre in the provincial capital of Lahore, distinguished by the general reduction of historical voiced aspiration to tone; (ii) the *Sirāikī* group of the south-western areas of the Punjab below the Salt Range (with extensions into the adjoining provinces), centred on the cities of Multan and Bahawalpur, marked by the retention of historical voiced aspiration and the distinction between implosive and explosive voiced consonants; (iii) the Hindko group of the north-western Punjab above the Salt Range, extending across the Indus into adjoining areas of the NWFP, lying between the cities of Peshawar and Rawalpindi, typified by a partial reduction only of historical voiced aspriates to tone.

This very rough classification disregards the important problem raised by border-dialects: one of the most interesting is the Poṭhoārī of the Rawalpindi area, lying between the main Hindko and central Punjabi groups and marked by many individual features. Mention at least should also be made of the complexities introduced by the considerable internal diversity within the main groups, and by features common to some members only of different groups. Social change is also a complicating factor: the extension of cultivable areas by irrigation schemes, the large influx of Muslim refugees from India in 1947 speaking central or eastern varieties of Punjabi (or Urdu), and the mobility ecouraged by the more recent industrial expansion have all served increasingly to blur geographical dialect boundaries, so that the south-western areas in particular are linguistically much less homogeneous than formerly.

These factors, however, raise problems of technical analysis only. A more substantive issue, at least in local eyes, is raised by the vexatious question of the classification of these varieties of speech as languages or dialects—that is to say, are they to be regarded as separate languages, or is one to be taken as primary and the others to be regarded as dialects of it? Local responses are discussed in the following sections. Here it may be sufficient to demonstrate the difficulties involved by referring to the scheme proposed by Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, which—for all its many imperfections—remains the only large-scale attempt to provide an overall taxonomy. For Grierson, the differences between the dialect-groups were so great that he felt impelled to distinguish all varieties spoken west of the Jhelum-Bahawalpur line as members of a language separate from Punjabi, which he called 'Lahndā' (after the Punjabi word for West). In his scheme, therefore, Sirāikī is called 'Southern Lahndā', and is grouped loosely with Hindko and Poṭohārī, classified as varieties of 'Northern Lahndā', all three being ultimately classed as forming a wider unity with Sindhi, rather than with Punjabi.[3]

In many parts of the world, the easiest way to determine the classification of speech-varieties as languages or dialects is by reference to a firmly established literary tradition. The evidence of the local literary languages of this area is, however, less clear-cut, since they have been historically subordinate to the formal standards, and were until recently used for certain types of verse composition only. The Muslim poetic tradition, recorded in the Persian script, and marked linguistically by an abundance of Persian poetic loan words, is attested from the 16th century. Its most important literary genres are *sufi* verses and hymns designed for *qavvālī* performances, and more extended treatments of the logical romantic legends, of which the most famous is the *Hīr* by Vāris Shāh (176c).

The language of the earlier texts draws freely on both central Punjabi and Sirāikī features: they have anyway been so unreliably transmitted for the most part that it is hardly possible to relate them firmly to one dialect group rather than another. From the mid-18th century, however, a greater separation of the two is to be discerned. A more distinctly Sirāikī-based literary language emerged both in the Multan-Bahawalpur area and in Sind (where it was cultivated alongside Sindhi). At the same time the central Punjabi literary language became firmly established in a form more closely based on the speech of Lahore. With the development of the city as a major publishing centre from the 1970's, this Muslim Punjabi literary language gained still wider currency, affecting the style of poets from other areas also, including those of the North-West, where traditions of poetic compositions are less firmly established in scope or in age.

It must, however, be remembered that this was the very time that Lahore also became established as one of the major centres of Urdu literary activity in the sub-continent, and that the Punjabi literary language always played a subsidiary role to Urdu; which was also the language of education in the undivided Punjab of British India. It is true that Punjabi came to be developed in competition with Urdu, but this was almost entirely by Sikhs, not by Muslims. And this Sikh Punjabi, although identical in dialectical base, is very different in character from Muslim literary Punjabi, being written in Gurmukhi script, marked by an abundance of Sanskritic loan-words, and strongly influenced by the archaic sacred language of the *Ādi Granth* (1604). It is a nice illustration of the way in which purely linguistic factors come ultimately to be subordinated to sociolinguistic definitions of group-identity that the Punjabi which first began to be cultivated by educated Sikhs as a preferred language from the end of the 19th century, as a feature of the complex process of self-definition on the part of the different religious communities of the Punjab during the British period, and which has gradually achieved the status of an independent formal standard language in Indian Punjab,[4] should now have become virtually as unintelligible at the academic level to a muslim Punjabi as is High Hindi to a speaker of Urdu.

3. LANGUAGE, DIALECT, AND LOCAL IDENTITY IN PAKISTAN PUNJAB[5]

The circumstances in which Pakistan came into being in 1947 made it hardly likely that Muslim Punjabis should feel that their native language should be an important part of their

identity. The powerful stress laid for decades upon Urdu as the distinctive linguistic marker of the South Asian Muslim identity—quite apart from arrogation of Punjabi as the symbol of a rival religious identity—naturally acted to preserve the traditional hierarchy of Urdu as a positively valued formal standard and local varieties of speech as no more than automatic media of everyday intercourse.

There were of course individual exceptions to this amongst the scholars and writers who had been concerned with Punjabi before Partition. But even within the limits of literary circles (with which this paper is exclusively concerned), their numbers were very small. So far as can be determined from the available evidence, the problems of coming to terms with the reconstruction of a religious identity in terms of a national identity largely inhibited the public exploration of the implications of loc l identity during the earliest years of Pakistan. Even such activity as was beginning to be carried on in the local languages was quite severely discouraged during the first and most authoritarian period of Ayub's rule, with its obsession with what now seems a rather narrow definition of 'national unity'.

In the mid-1960's, however, this policy had become considerably relaxed, and by the time that I first became involved in Punjabi literary circles in Lahore in 1967, literary activities were being pursued actively, if on a modest scale, both in terms of numbers of those involved relative to the much larger group of Punjabi-speaking literati composing in Urdu, and in terms of production, whether in the form of books and magazines, or of creative works broadcast orally through the media. Nevertheless, this scale was sufficiently marked to make one give some credence to the contention of the more conscious activities, that a Pakistani Muslim identity need not involve the exclusion of any recognition of local elements within itself, as tends to be implied by a single-minded identification with Urdu, the whole emphasis of whose literary tradition is to make it Islamic rather than Indian, and—paradoxically—Indian rather than Pakistani.

Over later years the implications of the idea of a consciously upheld locally based Punjabi Muslim identity have come to be more fully explored. This is in part a consequence of the degree to which such an identity has come to be widely accepted as natural by those who are not themselves committed activists concerned with original formulations of it. Various types of evidence might be cited for this change, an obvious example being the extension of Punjabi into many formal contexts previously reserved for Urdu. These contexts include oral use in formal speeches or (especially) on the broadcast media, but also extend to writing: largely as a result of the establishment of the M.A. in Punjabi in the University at Lahore in 1971, a range of titles inconceivable ten years ago is now being published in Punjabi.[6] It may therefore be said that efforts of small groups of activists during a quite long period of relative isolation are now being rewarded with a considerable degree of success.

If the two are to be seen as being conflicting, as they sometimes are, one could say that the aim of the Punjabi movement to instil a widespread acceptance of their local identity on the part of Pakistani Punjabis had to a certain degree prevailed against official formulations of an undifferentiated national Pakistan identity, with their emphasis on the exclusive use of Urdu. This would, however, surely be to misconceive the nature of the changes, which have taken place. The failure of successive *regimes* in Pakistan to maintain their political credibility in many intellectual circles may have caused a rueful questioning of the nature of the Pakistani identity, but only amongst extremists is the Punjabi identity upheld as a totally acceptable alternative in itself. In other words, success has attached to the movement to give body to the national by developing the local identity, rather than to suggestions that the national should be replaced by the local, as in the idea that Punjabi Muslims belong with fellow-Punjabis in a greater Punjab, rather than with fellow-Muslims in Pakistan.[7]

The creation of a consciously worked-out provincial identity is the natural result of the relative success of the Punjabi movement. This success has brought it a considerable increase in numbers, but it remains firmly centred in Lahore, whose status as the major centre of administration, communications, and higher education in the Punjab makes it the natural base for a leadership of middle-class intellectuals.

This very concentration of resources in Lahore and the immediately surrounding regions also, however, creates its own resentments amongst those who live in less well-endowed parts of the province.[8] These resentments have been voiced particularly strongly in the south-west Punjab, one form which they have taken being the Sirāikī movement which has arisen particularly in Multan and Bahawalpur, as a direct opponent of the Punjobi movement.

At first sight, it is the similarities between the Sirāikī movement and the Punjabi movement which are striking. Both operate primarily in terms of literary activities, even if the Sirāikī ones are on a more restricted scale, in keeping with its less well-established base. These activities typically take the form of original composition, criticism, or scholarship, of publication in book or journal form, or recitation and discussion at literary meetings, besides being projected to a wider public at popular functions designed to draw attention to the local cultural and literary past: the beginning of such activities on a serious scale in both movements is to be dated to the mid-1960's. Even the terms in which polemic is currently conducted between the two seem to display remarkable similarities: those are particularly striking in the debate which continues over which is older than the other, in attempts to prove that either Sirāikī is a dialect of Punjabi, or that Punjabi is a dialect of Sirāikī.[9]

When examined a little more closely, however, a basic difference in type between the two movements becomes apparent. The Punjabi movement has been characterized as being primarily a response to the problems of identity created by the formulation of a national identity in terms of unlocalized religious adherence: indeed, in so far as the Punjabi constitutes the dominant constituent element of Pakistan, the Punjabi movement's formulations of local identity must be regarded as a central part of that debate about national identity which is in some ways peculiar to Pakistan.

The Sirāikī movement, on the other hand, falls squarely within a pattern familiar from many parts of the world, being essentially an articulation of resentments against what is felt to be economic exploitation and political oppression by the more

advanced Punjabis of the north-eastern and central parts of the province. Although complicated and partly divided by particular local factors, such as the demand for the restoration of the provincial status of Bahawalpur on the basis of its history as a former princely state, the Sirāikī movement has as its ultimate aim the securing of the rights of the 'Sons of the Soil'.

What makes it interesting in the context of other nativist movements[10] are the great problems which it has to face in terms of generating a conscious awareness of a shared local ethnic identity. In the South Asian context, the choice of language as the primary marker of such an identity may seem unremarkable, but even at this first stage the Sirāikī movement has had to face many peculiar difficulties. The rather ambiguous support for claims to separate identity provided by the linguistic evidence and by literary history have already been touched on in the previous section. Furthermore, not only have the heartlands of the area been penetrated by large numbers of Punjabi-speakers since 1947, itself one of the main causes of local resentment, but the very extensiveness of the Sirāikī speech-area, which includes parts of all four provinces of Pakistan, is a cause of weakness rather than strength: in both Baluchistan and Sind, for example, Sirāikī-speakers are numerous, but are claimed as ethnic Baluchis or Sindhis. In view of these inherent difficulties, the success with which the name 'Sirāikī'—a term quite recently imported from Sind—has been given wide currency in the Punjab is striking. A consciousness of local linguistic identity has been created by the movement, but this has yet to be converted into a full sense of ethnic identity.[11].

The difficulties of arriving even at this stage are well illustrated by the present position in northern Punjab (Districts Attock, Rawalpindi, Jhelum). Here, too, expressions of local loyalties and of resentments against more advantaged regions of the Punjab are quite frequently encountered, but they have yet to be articulated in any very coherent fashion. The region is poorly endowed economically, and lacks a natural historic centre: the somewhat artificial character of Rawalpindi, first as a garrison town, now also as a satellite of the federal capital, hardly makes it a suitable focus. These factors obviously

inhibit the emergence of a solidly based local intellectual leadership.

Nor do languages or literature provide immediately obvious rallying points. The local dialects loosely grouped as Hindko and Poṭohārī are considerably less homogenous than the several varieties of Sirāikī. The local literary heritage is also very modest by comparison with that of other parts of the Punjab. It is true that the great romantic poem *Saif ul Mulūk* (1863) by Mīān Muhammad enjoys great popularity and prestige all over the area, but its language is essentially that of the central Punjab tradition, unlike—say—that of Khwāja Ghulām Farīd (1845-1901), the great *sufi* poet of Bahawalpur who has come to serve as the central symbol of the Sirāikī movement.

In these circumstances, the interest of the attempts which are being made to explore local identity in the area lies in the opportunity which they afford for the observation of the most preliminary stages in the formulation of a regional consciousness. These attempts include studies of the cultural heritage of the region,[12] and the beginnings of the use of the local dialects for formal literary purposes.[13] There has yet to evolve an accepted local standard as a literary medium, although conscious efforts in this direction have been made, particularly by writers connected with the radio station in Rawalpindi. So far, however, it has been possible for Punjab movement, which is also solidly based in Rawalpindi, to represent Poṭohārī as a dialect of Punjabi.[14] In other words, a sub-provincial identity has yet to free itself, even in the minimal terms of a distinct linguistic identity. There is, of course, no reason why such a subordination should not be maintained, and the frustration engendered in the minds of the Punjabi activists by the Sirāikī movement's refusal to accept such a subordinate status make it likely that everything will be done to try to make sure that it continues in this part of the province at least.

4. HINDKO IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

The external picture of the NWFP, in a stereotype reinforced by much of the literature produced in Pakistan, is as the home of the Pathans, well-known as the possessors of one of the most highly evolved ethnic identities of any group in

the world, let alone South Asia. The basic ingredients of this identity are summed up in the formulas of the tribal code called *pakhtūnvali*, but the Pathan identity subsumes other elements also. The Pashto language is one of the most important of these, as is the attachment to its poetic heritage, expressed in a standard literary language which transcends the substantial divisions of dialect in spoken Pashto.[15] Khushhāl Khattak (d. 1689) and Rahmān Bābā (d. 1706), the chief figures in the Pashto literary pantheon, are thus also symbols of Pathan identity in a way familiar in other cultural regions of Pakistan. While there have been tensions between a natural Pakistani identity and a local Pathan identity, there can be no doubt about the strength and vitality of the latter.

But, while the Pathans are undoubtedly the dominant group in the NWFP, it is hardly surprising—in view of the circumstances of its creation as a convenient administrative compromise to suit the requirements of imperial defence policy—that the province should in fact be both linguistically and ethnically the most diverse of all the provinces of Pakistan. Much of this diversity is of course confined to the northern areas. But even below the mountains there exists an important distinction between the Pashto-speaking Pathans and those inhabitants of the Province who speak 'Hindko', i.e. varieties of Indo-Aryan, hardly to be distinguished from those spoken across the Indus, which—like most rivers—is a weak linguistic frontier.

While mutually intelligible between themselves, these varieties of 'Hindko' are quite distinct from one another.[16] There are four principal areas in which Hindko-speakers are concentrated in the NWFP: in the central cities of Peshawar and Kohat, and in the outlying districts of the Province, in Dera Ismail Khan and in Hazara. In the latter areas Hindko-speakers constitute an ethnic majority locally; in other words, these are peripheral zones added to the Pashto-speaking heartlands originally for administrative convenience. In the cities of Peshwar and Kohat, they constitute urban enclaves within a largely Pashto-speaking countryside. Both in these cities and in Dera Ismail Khan, however, the traditional separation (both social and linguistic) between city and countsyside has been

increasingly broken down during the period since Independence. Essentially, what has occured is an occupation by Pashto-speaking Pathans of key areas in the urban economy of the province which before 1947 were traditionally exercised by Hindko-speaking Hindus and Sikhs.

This has had obvious linguistic consequences, entailing a shift from Hindko to Pashto, which is seen in the decreasing bilingualism on the part of Pashto-speakers and the extent to which Hindko-speakers are forced to acquire at least a working knowledge of Pashto. The breakdown of former barriers of economic specialization has meant that Hindko, once spoken alongside Pashto, is rapidly coming to be subordinated to it: this process is naturally encouraged by the traditional Pathan conception of the superiority of the mountain-dweller over the inhabitants of the cities.[17]

There is, therefore, a quite close analogy with the situation in the cities of the Sirāikī-speaking region in the south-west Punjab, since there too a society linguistically homogeneous but religiously divided was replaced after 1947 by one in which linguistic diversity was the price to be paid for religious unity. The response of the Hindko-speakers to the situation in which they find themselves has followed the predictable course of attempting to assert their own identity and the centre of these attempts has natural been the provincial capital of Peshwar. The exploration of the constituent elements of such a Hindko identity has concentrated in the usual fashion on its linguistic markers.

Here, however, peculiar difficulties are faced, owing to the small room for manoeuvre left by rival identities. The main challenge comes from the dominant Pashto identity, which would exclude the Hindko-speakers from full provincial identity on the grounds that they are basically Punjabi immigrants, speaking a variety of Punjabi. This claim is, of course, supported on different grounds by advocates of a single Punjabi linguistic identity. In a position thus externally constrained, spokesmen of the Hindko movement have been forced to try to show that Hindko is an independent language peculiar to the NWFP (though with extensions into the northern Punjab), of equally indigenous status with Pashto. Somewhat forced

historical arguments are produced to buttress this claim,[18] and it is further backed up by familiar supporting arguments: these include attempts to distinguish Hindko further from Punjabi by special orthographic devices,'[19] and to construct a rallying symbol from the restricted literary past around the works of the Peshawari poet Sāīñ (d. 1937).[20]

A certain degree of success has attended the Hindko movement's efforts so far as the city of Peshawar itself is concerned, although this has hardly reached the hoped-for stage of inducing the provincial government to accord Hindko recognition in any way comparable with even the restricted status given to Pashto in the province. A crucial weakness of the movement, still insufficiently appreciated by its enthusiasts, is the degree to which it represents the interests of a city without a hinterland. In purely numeric terms, quite impressive figures can be quoted for the numbers of Hindko-speakers in the NWFP: but their distribution hardly makes the emergence of sense of shared identity likely. The Hindko-speakers of Kohat are too small in number to be significant leaving those at each end of the province, in Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan. But in both as in the peripheral areas of the Punjab, there is quite a strong feeling of resentment against what is seen as the unduly favoured status of Peshawar and its environs. While Hazara is in many ways insulated from the problems of the rest of the province by distance as well as a relative abundance of natural resources, these resentments have been interestingly articulated in Dera Ismail Khan. The 'Hindko' of Dera Ismail Khan is in fact a northern variety of Sirāikī, and—as a result of initiatives from Multan[21]—is now increasingly referred to as such locally. There has correspondingly been in recent years an increasing anticipation in the activities of the Sirāikī movement from Dera Ismail Khan. In this underdeveloped region, the defensive identity developed in the south-west Punjab to counter the claimed existence of a unitary Punjabi identity voiced chiefly from Lahore has been ideally suited to serve as the basis for the rejection of claims for the existence of a unitary NWFP identity voiced from Peshwar, whether couched in Pashto or in Hindko. And so, in a sense, the wheel comes full circle!

As this last example should have made particularly clear, problems of language, dialect, and local identity in Pakistan are considerably more complex than has generally been realized. The situation described in this paper is such a fluid one that it would be inappropriate to seek to provide any neat formal conclusion. Internally, the boundary lines have yet to be firmly drawn, whether these are seen in terms of some future-re-ordering of the provincial divisions of Pakistan, or just as barriers of the mind in the imaginations of those who conceive of themselves as inhabitants of unjustly deprived peripheral areas: and the external factors confronting the country, will naturally exercise their own influence on the internal situation.[22] I hope at least to have indicated, from a linguist's viewpoint, how a typology of linguistically based movements towards local ethnic identity and an account of the dynamics of their mutual interactions might be constructed.

Notes and References

1. While on study leave from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, from January to March, 1979.
2. The linguistic background is explored in greater detail in my paper: Problems of classification in Pakistan Punjab, in: Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1979, pp. 191-210.
3. The relevant volumes of the LSI are vol. ix, part I, Western Hindi and Panjābī, Calcutta, 1916, and vol. viii, part I, Sindhī and Lahndā, Calcutta, 1919.
4. The process is excellently described in: Brass, P.R.: Language, religion and politics in North India, Cambridge, 1974, part iv.
5. The themes touched on this section are dealt with in more detail in my articles: Punjabi in Lahore, in: Modern Asian Studies, 4. 1970, p. 239-267; Siraiki: a language movement in Pakistan, in: Modern Asian Studies, 11.1977, pp. 379-403; Rival linguistic identities in Pakistan Punjab, in Robb, P. and D. Taylor (eds.) Rule, protest, identity: Aspects of modern South Asia, London, 1978, pp. 213-234; Language and cultural identity in Pakistan Panjab, in: Krishna, Gopal (ed.): Contributions to South Asian Studies I, Delhi. 1979, pp. 137-160.
6. The list of the recently established Pakistan Punjabi Adabi Board, which includes several titles dealing with scholarship, history, and

travel, besides the usual litrerary genres, may be cited as a not untypical example.

7. On the extreme, the view is now being advanced that it is the Muslims alone who have maintained all that is best in Punjabi culture. For this re-formulation of the two-nation theory at the level of Punjabi provincial identity, cf. Malik, Shahbāz: Mūṅh Āī Gall, Lahore, 1976, reviewed by Karnail Singh Thind in: Khoj Darpan, July 1977. pp. 133-141, and put still more forcefully in: Bāsit, Mushtāq: Pāk Panjābī, Sargodha, 1978.
8. The economic imbalance between different parts of the Punjab is illuminatingly set out in the tables given in: Ahmad, Iftikhar: Pakistan general elections 1970, Lahore, 1976, pp. 94-96.
9. The arguments for the primacy of Punjabi are set out in: Khān, Muhammad Āsif: Panjābī zabān. ohdīāṅ boliāṅ te dūje nāṅ, in: Iqbāl Salāh-ud-Dīn (ed.): Lallāṅ dī Pand, Lahore, 1973, pp. 32-40, and Malik Shahbāz: Panjābī Lisānīyāt, Lahore, 1977. Those for Sirāikī are advanced in Haq, Mahar 'Abdul: Siraekī Zabān aur uskī Hamsāya 'Ilāqāī Zabāneṅ, Multan, 1977.
10. In terms of the interesting variety of situations in India discussed in: Weiner, M.: Sons of the soil, Princeton, 1978, the nearest parallel is to his: Where migrants succeed and natives fail, pp. 75-143.
11. The point is well made in a revealing pamphlet: Rasūlpūri, Muhammad Aslam: Sirāekī zabān ke bāre meṅ savāl o javāb, Dera Ghazi Khan, 1977, p. 7, where the writer claims that the Sirāiki people (Sirāekī log) do indeed constitute a potential Sirāekī nation (sirāekī qaum), but need first to develop a sense of ethnic identity (expressed by Ibn Khaldun's term *asabīyat*).
12. These include the pioneering study of Karam Haidarī: Poṭhohārī Gīt, Lahore, 1961, and the more substantial collection of folk-songs in: Parvez, Afzal: Ban Phulvārī, Islamabad, 1973; also the general survey of the folk-heritage in: Malik, Azīz: Pothohār, Islamabad, 1978, and a detailed study of one region in: Anvar Beg A'vān: Dhannī Adab o Saqafāt, Chakwal, 1968.
13. As of Vaṇhārī by Mājid Siddīqī in: Gunge dīāṅ Ramzāṅ, in: Maiṅ Kinne Pānī vic āṅ, Rawalpindi, 1978, a set of prose poems, or the short story in: Chachī by Mirzā Hāmid Beg: Hik Anglo-Indian Kuṛī nī Kahāṇī, Vāris Shāh, 1977, besides various poetic productions.
14. As I witnessed in 1979 at the launching ceremony for a collection of Poṭhohārī poetry (D Ipazīr Shād: Sānjhe Sek. Rawalpindi, 1978) conducted under the auspices of the Punjabi Adabi Sangat in Rawalpindi. The lack of independent financial resources comparable to those of the Sirāikī activists necessarily induces dependence upon the Punjabi publication network on the part of the northern writers, and even the pioneering collection of poetry in 'standard Poṭhohārī' (Bāqī Siddīqī: Kacce Ghare, Lahore, 1967) was published by the Majlis

Shah Hussain, the then most active of the organizations of the Punjabi movement.

15. The linguistic features of this standard are illuminatingly set out in relation to the spoken dialects in: MacKenzie, D.N.: A standard Pashto, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS), XXII, 1959, pp. 231-235.
16. The distinctions between them are examined in detail in my description: Hindko in Kohat and Peshawar, BSOAS, XLIII (3), 1980, pp. 482-510.
17. Cf. the description in: Mayne, P.: The narrow smile, London, 1955, p. 44: 'The elite of tribal regions still look down upon the men of the villages inside the administered border: the villager looks down upon the men who live on the outskirts of the towns, the men who 'commute' daily, to and from work in the town. The 'commuter' l·oks down upon the small-time city-dweller who is probably not Pakhtun at all . . .'
18. These are developed at some length in Nayyar, Mukhtār Alī: Tārikhe Zabān-e Hindko, Peshawar, 1977, which seeks to depict the Hindko-speakers as 'Hindkūns: coequal in antiquity and status with the Pakhtūans: cf. also Shaukat. Sh.: Hindko Zabān aur Adab kā Tārikhī Jāiza I, Peshawar, 1977, and Imdād, Sābir Hussain Hindko Zabān te usdā Mākhaz, Peshawar, 1978.
19. Originally in: Nayyar, Mukhtār 'Alī: Hindko Nasr dī Kahānī, Peshawar, 1965, later challenged in Imdād, Sābir Hussain: Hindko Rasm-ul-khat, hik bahis, Peshawar, 1978: the development of a distinctive orthography has similarly been a prime concern of the Sirāikī movement, with rather more linguistic justification.
20. Now published in an exellent edition by Hamdānī, Rajā: Sāin Ahmad 'Alī Pishāvarī, Islamabad, 1977. A long residence in Rawalpindi does, however, make Sāin also open to claims from Poṭhohārī, as in: Parvez, Afzal (ed.): Kahindā Sāin, Lahore 1978, so the Peshawari attempt to exalt Sāin to the status of 'Ghalib-e Hindko' may pose problems for the future.
21. Particularly those associated with the all Pakistan Siraiki Conference held in Multan in March 1975, an occasion which probably represented the highest point of success so far reached by the Sirāikī movement.
22. The current influx of Pashto-speaking refugees from Afghanistan into the NWFP is an obvious case in point.

THE SEXIST LANGUAGE AND THE PRONOUN: A PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE TEXT-BOOK WRITERS

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For the last eight years, I have been studying sexism in Indian school textbooks. Sexism propagates inherent inequality between males and females. It supports the traditional subservience of women. In language, sexism discriminates against women as a group by subsuming them under masculine terms, a practice more apparent to the pronoun problem.

What is the pronoun problem? It may be stated as the grammatical rule that singular subjects and objects of indefinite gender take masculine singular pronouns. That this rule stands in contradiction to the spoken usage of many children and adults has not deterred its supporters. It is accepted as established convention.

How did this convention come into existence? Male grammarians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrote the earliest grammars of English for instructing upper-class males. The use of masculine pronouns as all-inclusive pronouns reflected the philosophy and the social reality of male-dominance both in and outside the schools. Most women were illiterate: language was men's business. They thus created a style of expression that equated masculinity with humanity.

But even in the writings of these early grammarians, one finds no clear stipulation that masculine pronouns should be used as all-inclusive referents for both sexes. The first rule to this effect appear only in the eighteenth century grammar books. It was not until 1850 that the British Parliament officially sanctioned the generic use of *he* by an act requiring that "words importing the masculine gender shall be deemed and taken to include females" (cited by Miller & Swift, 1980: 37).

Does this rule accurately reflect the human mental processes underlying linguistic expression? Not at all. Study after study of pronoun usage in the speech patterns of young and adult males and females demonstrates that the male-centered rule for pronominalization disagrees with natural thought/speech patterns. Until they learn differently in school, most children